What Do the Buried Secrets of Tenochtitlán Tell Us About the Aztecs?

Supporting Questions

1. Where was Tenochtitlán?
2. What do three archaeological artifacts tell us about the Templo Mayor?
3. How did Tenochtitlán sustain itself?
4. How was Tenochtitlán buried?
9th Grade Aztec Inquiry

What Do the Buried Secrets of Tenochtitlán Tell Us About the Aztecs?

New York State Social Studies Framework Key Idea & Practices

9.8 AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS PRE-1600: The environment, trade networks, and belief systems influenced the development of complex societies and civilizations in Africa and the Americas ca. 1325–1600.
- Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence
- Geographic Reasoning
- Economics and Economic Systems
- Comparison and Contextualization

Staging the Question
Look at photographs of the excavation of Tenochtitlán in 2012 and use the Question Formulation Technique (QFT) to generate questions about the Aztec city.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supporting Question 1</th>
<th>Supporting Question 2</th>
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<th>Supporting Question 4</th>
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<tr>
<td>Where was Tenochtitlán?</td>
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<td>How did Tenochtitlán sustain itself?</td>
<td>How was Tenochtitlán buried?</td>
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Formative Performance Task
- List key features from a series of maps and describe how each map uniquely answers the question “Where is Tenochtitlán?”
- Write a description of three archaeological artifacts found at the Templo Mayor site.
- Develop a *chaîne opératoire* (operational sequence) for three Aztec economic innovations.
- Develop a claim with evidence about the demise of Tenochtitlán.

Featured Sources
- **Source A:** Image bank: Maps of the Aztec Empire and Tenochtitlán
- **Source A:** The Coyolxauhqui Stone (temple entry stone)
- **Source B:** *Tzompantli* (skull rack)
- **Source C:** *Tonamatl* (Aztec calendar stone)
- **Source A:** Hernán Cortés’s second letter to Charles V
- **Source B:** Codex Mendoza
- **Source C:** *Model of chinampas*
- **Source A:** Excerpt from *Guns, Germs, and Steel* by Jared Diamond
- **Source B:** Excerpt from *Daily Life of the Aztecs: People of the Sun and Earth* by David Carrasco with Scott Sessions

Summative Performance Task
- **ARGUMENT** What do the buried secrets of Tenochtitlán tell us about the Aztecs? Construct an argument (e.g., detailed outline, poster, or essay) that addresses the compelling question using specific claims and relevant evidence from historical sources while acknowledging competing views.

Extension
Create an exhibition card for an artifact from Tenochtitlán to make a classroom archaeological/museum exhibit.

Taking Informed Action
- **UNDERSTAND** Investigate the ethical, environmental, and/or historical challenges that modern-day archaeologists face as they unearth Tenochtitlán.
- **ASSESS** List the opportunities and challenges of uncovering the remains of lost societies such as Tenochtitlán.
- **ACT** Write an editorial for *Dig Into History* magazine that makes young readers aware of one or more problems archaeologists face in digging up the past.
Overview

Inquiry Description

This inquiry leads students through an investigation of the Aztec Empire through the study of its capital city, Tenochtitlán. Scholars debate the significance of the role of the Aztec Empire in Mesoamerican culture. While some observers see great innovation in architecture, agriculture and economic systems, others see a simplistic, militaristic, and flawed empire. Further complicating these arguments is the limited number of sources and archaeological evidence.

By investigating the compelling question about the burial of Tenochtitlán and its impact on our understanding of the history of the Aztecs, students will need to consider the ways in which the excavation of Tenochtitlán provides a useful opportunity for learning about the Aztecs and the extent to which historic understanding is shaped by the work of archaeologists. The content signaled in this inquiry is derived from Key Idea 9.8, Africa and the Americas pre-1600. The compelling question provides students with an opportunity to learn about the complexity of societies and civilizations through a case study of the city of Tenochtitlán and the Aztec Empire.

Students will learn about the geographic characteristics of Tenochtitlán, the cultural significance of artifacts excavated from the Templo Mayor (Great Temple), the economic factors involved in sustaining the Aztec Empire, and ultimately, the reasons for the empire’s demise. Intertwined with their learning about the Aztecs, students use the language, evidence, and tools from archaeology as well as secondary sources to take positions on historical events. The Summative Performance Task asks students to synthesize what they have learned by making a claim and support it with evidence as they consider how the unearthing of Tenochtitlán sheds light on the legacy of the Aztecs.

In investigating the archaeological and anthropological evidence of Tenochtitlán, students should develop an understanding of the Aztecs and their history and, more importantly, begin to evaluate the extent to which we can ever fully unearth or uncover an ancient civilization’s secrets.

NOTE: This inquiry is expected to take six to eight 40-minute class periods. The inquiry time frame could expand if teachers think their students need additional instructional experiences (i.e., supporting questions, formative performance tasks, and featured sources). Inquiries are not scripts, so teachers are encouraged to modify and adapt them to meet the needs and interests of their particular students.

Content Background

At the height of the Aztec Empire, the city of Tenochtitlán was home to as many as 300,000 people. When Spanish conquistador Bernal Díaz arrived in Tenochtitlán in 1519, he was astounded by what he saw:

These great towns and cues [temples] and buildings rising from the water, all made of stone, seemed like an enchanted vision from the tale of Amadis. Indeed, some of our soldiers asked whether it was not all a dream. It is not surprising therefore that I should write in this vein. It was all so wonderful that I do not know how to describe this first glimpse of things never heard of, seen or dreamed of before.

— Letters from Bernal Díaz, 1519–1526.
The Aztecs built the great city of Tenochtitlán as the fulfillment of a prophecy. The people who would become the Aztecs had wandered Mexico for almost 100 years looking for a specific sign from Huitzilopochtli, the sun god. According to the Aztecs, when they saw an eagle perched on a cactus situated on a rock in the center of a lake and eating a serpent, the prophecy was fulfilled and they built their empire around this location, Tenochtitlán.

At the center of Tenochtitlán was the Templo Mayor. The temple was built to honor Huitzilopochtli and acted as a government and religious center. All religious ceremonies, including human sacrifices, took place at the temple. The temple also served as the center of the social hierarchy of the Aztecs; proximity to the temple indicated higher status. Other important aspects of the city included the market, the chinampas (floating islands for crops), and the causeways. Outside the city was an extensive network of other indigenous communities that were economically tied to the Aztec Empire through a system of tribute (taxation).

In 1519, Spanish conquistadors under Hernán Cortés arrived on the coast of Mexico. Although they initially befriended the Aztec leaders, Cortés and his army would later combine forces with other indigenous peoples to try to overthrow the Aztecs. However, the demise of Tenochtitlán was aided by the introduction of smallpox, which would eventually kill over half of the Aztec population who had no natural immunity.

Historians’ and archaeologists’ work on interpreting the life of the Aztecs is complex. Much of this complexity stems from the difficulties of trying to interpret the life of a civilization with limited archaeological evidence. The complexity also stems from the Spanish and European bias inherent in many of the sources on Aztec life (e.g., the diaries of Cortés and Díaz). Much of the early historical work on the Aztecs focused on the perspectives of the Spanish imperialists, which often strengthened arguments that the Aztecs were a cohesive group of people. More recent scholars have focused on the social history of the Aztecs and the diversity of the various groups of people who made up the Aztec Empire. Furthermore, more recent ethnohistorical scholarship on the Aztecs has given strength to perspectives of indigenous peoples.

Throughout the inquiry, students are learning and using the place names and some of the vocabulary of the Aztecs and of archaeologists. It is important to have students use historical and cultural vocabulary out of respect for the people they are studying and as a way to make their work with archaeology and history more authentic. Understandably, students might stumble as they work through this vocabulary. To help them, a vocabulary guide is included at the end of the inquiry that provides pronunciations and definitions for words used throughout the inquiry (See Appendix A).

Content, Practices, and Literacies

In addressing the compelling question—“What do the buried secrets of Tenochtitlán tell us about the Aztecs?”—students will need to weigh evidence and counterevidence from a variety of sources. In the first formative performance task, students use a series of maps to identify key features and describe how the maps contribute to their understandings of where Tenochtitlán is. Next, students explore the Templo Mayor and the Aztecs’ religious and cultural practices through a series of archaeological discoveries unearthed at the temple. Students then move to considering the economic success of Tenochtitlán, including its market, its tribute system, and its agricultural innovations, such as the chinampas. Finally, students recognize the complexity of the fall of Tenochtitlán as they explore the role of Spanish conquest.

Throughout the inquiry, students are asked to do increasingly complex tasks that will develop their cognitive capacity to deal with the Summative Performance Task. In the first formative performance task, students are asked
to identify key features and to describe how the maps spatially identify where Tenochtitlán is located (Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence; Geographic Reasoning). The second formative performance task asks students to explain the importance of three archaeological sources excavated from the Templo Mayor site (Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence; Comparison and Contextualization). The third formative performance task asks students to develop a chaîne opératoire for three Aztec economic innovations (Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence; Economics and Economic Systems). The final formative performance task asks students to form claims about the demise of Tenochtitlán that are supported by evidence (Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence; Chronological Reasoning and Causation).

The New York State P–12 Common Core Learning Standards for English Language Arts & Literacy offer social studies teachers numerous opportunities to integrate literacy goals and skills into their social studies instruction. The Common Core supports the inquiry process through reading rich informational texts, writing evidence-based arguments, speaking and listening in public venues, and using academic vocabulary to complement the pedagogical directions advocated in the New York State K–12 Social Studies Framework. At the end of this inquiry is an explication of how teachers might integrate literacy skills throughout the content, instruction, and resource decisions they make.
The inquiry opens by engaging students in the archaeological wonders and challenges of the Tenochtitlán excavation in Mexico City. Using the Question Formulation Technique (QFT) developed by the Right Question Institute (RQI), teachers could have students generate a variety of questions centered on a quote and accompanying images from the September 2, 2012, *New York Times* article “Mexico City’s Aztec Past Reaches Out to Present.”

The QFT begins with a *question focus*. For this initial exercise, teachers could use the following quote from the article: “It is like a book that we are trying to read from the surface to the deepest point” (from Raúl Barrera, who leads the exploration of the city’s center for the National Institute of Anthropology and History). This quote could be paired with one or both of the images within the article (see Featured Source A).

Once students are given the question focus, they move through three distinct but important steps in generating their own questions (see the student handout):

- **Step one:** Produce your own questions.
- **Step two:** Categorize your questions.
- **Step three:** Prioritize your questions.

In step one, students are placed in small groups and, using the question focus, produce as many questions as they can without stopping to judge or answer the questions. A recorder should be assigned to write down every question exactly as stated and change statements into questions.

In step two, students work together to categorize those questions by labeling them as “closed” or “open”. Close-ended questions can be answered with a yes or no and open-ended questions require a longer explanation. Students mark the questions with a *C* or an *O*. Teachers should then discuss the advantages and disadvantages of asking both types of questions focusing on the utility of each.

In step three, students prioritize the questions they have generated, choosing the three most important questions and providing explanations for why they chose those three.

At this point, teachers may want to introduce the compelling question for this inquiry and ask students to think about how their questions relate. For example, if students ask a question such as “How will we ever really know about the Aztecs if the civilization was literally buried?” teachers might bridge the two questions. Teachers could talk about how the students will be reading a variety of sources, including newspaper articles, maps, and firsthand accounts, stressing how important it will be for students to consider the credibility of the sources and the problem of an incomplete historical record. Additionally, teachers will want to look for questions raised by students that mirror the questions that frame this inquiry and then acknowledge any gaps. In the cases where the students’ questions help further the inquiry, teachers could construct another formative performance task(s) or augment the current tasks. In this way, students’ curiosity is woven intentionally into the teacher-designed instructional sequence, and students’ intellectual efforts are recognized as important contributions to the inquiry process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compelling Question</th>
<th>Featured Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| What does Tenochtitlán tell us about the Aztecs? | **Source A:** Photographs of the excavation of Tenochtitlán  
**Source B:** “Mexico City’s Aztec Past Reaches Out to Present” |
Teachers may want students to keep special notebooks for this inquiry to house their "field notes" from this initial exercise and the remainder of the inquiry. The field notebooks could take on an archaeologist’s flair and house the images, articles, artifacts, and other sources students are working with alongside the tasks, which ask students to use information and evidence to support their answers and analyses. Teachers should not be afraid to encourage students to be creative in designing their notebooks. Constructing weathered or decorated notebook covers could be a way for students to personalize their efforts.
The RQI Question Formulation Technique

✓ **Produce** Your Own Questions
✓ **Improve** Your Questions
✓ **Prioritize** Your Questions

**Produce Your Own Questions**

*Four essential rules for producing your own questions*

- Ask as many questions as you can.
- Do not stop to discuss, judge, or answer the questions.
- Write down every question exactly as it is stated.
- Change any statement into a question.

**Categorize Your Questions**

*Categorize the questions as closed- or open-ended.*

- Closed-ended questions can be answered with a yes or no or with one word.
- Open-ended questions require an explanation and cannot be answered with yes or no or with one word.

Find and mark closed-ended questions with a c; mark open-ended questions with an o.

**Name the value of each type of question:**

- Advantages and disadvantages of asking closed-ended questions
- Advantages and disadvantages of asking open-ended questions

**Change questions from one type to another:**

- Change closed-ended questions to open-ended
- Change open-ended questions to closed-ended

**Prioritize Your Questions**

*Choose your three most important questions:*

1.
2.
3.

Why did you choose these three as the most important?

**Next Steps**

*How are you going to use your questions?*
Images to Prompt Question Formulation Technique

Archaeologists removed human bones, among nearly 2,000, including 10 skulls, found recently at the Templo Mayor site.

REUTERS/INAH/Handout.

The ruins of the Aztecs’ Templo Mayor, in Mexico City’s famous Zócalo, where it abuts a Spanish-built cathedral.

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Mexico City’s Aztec Past Reaches Out to Present

By ELISABETH MALKIN and SOFIA CASTELLO Y TICKELL

MEXICO CITY — The skeleton is that of a young woman, perhaps an Aztec noble, found intact and buried in the empire’s most sacred spot more than 500 years ago. Almost 2,000 human bones were heaped around her, and she is a mystery.

There are other discoveries yet to be deciphered from the latest excavation site at the heart of this vast metropolis, where the Aztecs built their great temple and the Spanish conquerors laid the foundation of their new empire.

Before announcing the finding of the unusual burial site and the remains of what may be a sacred tree last month, archaeologists had also recently revealed a giant round stuccoed platform decorated with serpents’ heads and a floor carved in relief that appears to show a holy war.

Mexico City might be one of the world’s classic megacities, an ever-expanding jumble of traffic, commerce, grand public spaces, leafy suburbs and cramped slums. But it is also an archaeological wonder, and more than three decades after a chance discovery set off a systematic exploration of the Aztecs’ ceremonial spaces, surprises are still being uncovered in the city’s superimposed layers.

“It’s a living city that has been transforming since the pre-Hispanic epoch,” said Raúl Barrera, who leads the exploration of the city’s center for the National Institute of Anthropology and History here.

“The Mexicas themselves dismantled their temples,” to build over them, he explained, using the Aztecs’ name for themselves. “The Spanish constructed the cathedral, their houses, with the same stones from the pre-Hispanic temples. What we have found are the remains of that whole process.”

Perhaps nowhere else in the world is the evidence of a rupture between civilizations as dramatic as in Mexico City’s giant central square, known as the Zócalo, where the ruin of the Aztecs’ Templo Mayor abuts the ponderous cathedral the Spanish erected to declare their spiritual dominance over the conquered.

“I think the ideological war was more difficult for the Spanish than armed warfare,” said Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, the archaeologist who first led the excavation of the Templo Mayor.

There are other, older places in the world where ruins rise from traffic-clogged streets, where foreign invaders ended empires. But it is different here, academics say.

“They blew the top of it off; they didn’t do that to the Colosseum,” said David Carrasco, a historian of religions at Harvard University who has written on the Aztecs and the excavations at the Templo Mayor. “In Rome, the ancient Roman city stands alongside the medieval and the modern city.”

A Spanish chronicler of the conquest, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, wrote that “of all these wonders” of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, “all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.”
Since 1790, though, when construction work to pave the Zócalo unearthed the first giant Aztec carvings, Tenochtitlan has been giving up its secrets. Archaeologists began exploring the Templo Mayor a century ago, but the discovery of a giant monolith depicting the decapitated, dismembered Aztec moon goddess Coyolxauhqui in 1978 led to a full-scale excavation that continues today.

In the first five years, archaeologists had uncovered large parts of the temple that lay underneath a structure razed by the Spanish after the 1521 conquest. Past Aztec emperors had built new temples over earlier ones, which unwittingly spared the older structures.

The archaeological project "wasn't just that we were going to find an enormous temple," Mr. Matos said. "It was what it meant within Aztec society. That building was very important because for them it was the center of the universe."

There is still much more to uncover around the Templo Mayor. The 16th-century Franciscan Friar Bernardino de Sahagún left a record of what Mr. Matos calls the Aztecs' sacred precinct of temples and palaces, now a densely packed square about seven blocks on each side.

The Sahagún account, compiled from Aztecs' recollections of their lost city, has proved strikingly accurate. Of the 78 structures he described, archaeologists have found vestiges of more than half.

During the most recent excavation, underneath a small plaza wedged between the Templo Mayor and the cathedral, Mr. Barrera had been looking for the round ceremonial platform because it had been described in the Sahagún record.

Much of what the friar and other witnesses chronicled now lies as deep as 25 feet underground. To get there, Mr. Barrera's team must first navigate the electricity lines and water mains that are the guts of the modern city and then travel down through a colonial layer, which yields its own set of artifacts.

"It is like a book that we are trying to read from the surface to the deepest point," he said.

But despite the guidance from historical records, Mexico City's archaeologists cannot dig anywhere they please.

Part of the sacred precinct is now a raucous medley of the mundane. The street vendors hawking pirated Chinese-made toys and English-language lesson CDs from crumbling facades are merely the loudest. To excavate under the area's hotels, diners, cheap clothing stands and used bookstores would entail fraught negotiation.

Along the quieter blocks of the precinct, handsome colonial structures are now museums and government buildings, themselves historical landmarks.

Archaeologists believe that the Calmécac, a school for Aztec nobles, extends under the courtyards of Mexico's Education Ministry building. For now, the only part of the Calmécac that has been excavated are several walls and sculptures on display under a building housing the Spanish cultural center, discovered when it was remodeled.

Still, in a strange sort of payback, the ruins themselves sometimes make it possible for the archaeologists to enter private property and begin digging.

Since the 16th century, the city has pumped water from deep wells to satisfy its thirst, causing the clays beneath the surface to sink as water is sucked from them, rather like a dry sponge.

But the buildings settle unevenly, buckling over the solid stone Aztec ruins below, lending many of the sacred precinct's streets a swaying, drunken air.
As cracks open and the buildings tilt, many of them need restoration, which by law allows archaeologists from the anthropology and history institute to keep watch. If historic remains are found, the owner must foot the bill to restore them.

When the cathedral needed to be rescued in the 1990s, engineers dug 30 shafts to stabilize the structure and Mr. Matos and his team descended as far as 65 feet to see what was underneath.

“It’s the vengeance of the gods,” he said. “The cathedral is falling and the monuments to the ancient gods are what’s causing it to fall.”

Among other things, the archaeologists found the remains of Tenochtitlan’s ball court, where Aztecs played a ritual ballgame common across ancient Mesoamerica. It remains sealed deep under the cathedral’s apse and the cobblestone street to its north.

“That whole part of the city is like a graveyard of people and of significant cultural objects,” Mr. Carrasco said. “And they awaken every time Mexico reaches for its future.”

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Supporting Question

To answer the compelling question—"What do the buried secrets of Tenochtitlán tell us about the Aztecs?"—students will need to establish a foundational understanding of the absolute and relative location of the city as well as the unique geographic characteristics that contribute to our understanding about the city today. The supporting question for this task—"Where is Tenochtitlán?"—seems obvious at first: Tenochtitlán is located in modern-day Mexico and was a city within the Aztec Empire. While that is true, the question of where the city is located is much more interesting when students are challenged to think about the dimensions of "whereness" using key features of the maps provided. In doing so, students start to unpack the compelling question as they consider where the city was unearthed and what Tenochtitlán reveals about the Aztec people.

Formative Performance Task

The formative performance task calls on students to identify key features of a series of maps and describe how each map uniquely answers the question "Where is Tenochtitlán?" Each map within the collection uses a different scale and reveals unique characteristics about the city. The maps are ordered so that students begin with the largest scale (e.g., the city within the scope of the Aztec Empire), move to topographical maps that show geographic challenges and innovations (e.g., the city's location on an island in the middle of Lake Texcoco), and then end by zooming in on a model of the city created by the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City.

Within this task, students are working directly with the social studies practices of Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence and Geographic Reasoning as they read and analyze each of the maps for spatial patterns. This spatial perspective allows students to consider “whereness” through questions like “Where is Tenochtitlán located (e.g., absolute and relative location of the city)? Why did the Aztecs locate Tenochtitlán there? What were the consequences?” A graphic organizer is included within this task to help scaffold students’ reading and analysis (see the Mapping Tenochtitlán handout), but teachers will want to challenge students to think about additional questions as they conduct their analyses.

Depending on students' familiarity with reading and analyzing maps, teachers may organize this exercise in different ways. The graphic organizer, Mapping Tenochtitlán, included within the inquiry focuses students on two major points of analysis: (1) key features of the map and (2) how the map helps in answering the supporting
question, "Where is Tenochtitlán?" For students who need additional scaffolding, teachers may want to do direct teaching about the key features of a map. For example, teachers could discuss the following features to help anchor students’ analysis: title, orientation, scale, legend, and grid. Teachers might also use the following map analysis worksheet by the National Archives as guided practice for Map A and/or B: http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/map_analysis_worksheet.pdf. As students demonstrate proficiency in reading a map, they could work through the rest of the collection independently or in small groups.

Students’ understanding of the vastness of the Aztec Empire and the absolute and relative location of Tenochtitlán within the empire, along with its unique geographic characteristics, establish an orientation for examining the Templo Mayor in Formative Performance Task 2, the markets and tribute system in Formative Performance Task 3, and ultimately, the demise of the city in Formative Performance Task 4.

**Featured Source**

The featured source for this task is a collection of maps featuring Tenochtitlán at different scales and with different purposes in mind. Students will use these maps to gather key information about the Aztecs as well as geographic characteristics about the city of Tenochtitlán. As students work through analyzing each of the maps, they should be thinking about how the map contributes to the supporting question "Where is Tenochtitlán?"

For example, Map A shows Tenochtitlán as a city within the vast Aztec Empire that spanned most of Central America by 1519. In Map B, students are able to see that the empire was built over a century and that Tenochtitlán, while founded in 1325, began annexing city-states between 1427 and 1520. In Map C, students can examine the cultural diversity of the Aztec Empire and consider how that diversity affected the city. In Map D and E, students start to zoom in on the location of Tenochtitlán on an island in Lake Texcoco and how the Aztecs responded by building a grid of causeways that allowed them to travel more easily within and around the city. In doing so, students can begin to make inferences about the Aztecs and what Tenochtitlán's location might begin to reveal about the Aztec people.

Map F, the "Nuremburg Map" is the only historical map in the collection and is occasionally attributed to Hernán Cortés (1524). This map is important for a variety of reasons: (1) it provides a different orientation—a bird’s eye view of the city; (2) it allows students to consider the perspective and validity of the map as it was made almost 500 years ago without the mapping tools of today; and (3) it previews an important historic figure that students will begin to read about in Formative Performance Task 3, Cortés. Teachers may want to pause on this map to discuss its uniqueness within the collection.

The last map is actually a three-dimensional model of the Tenochtitlán, a city buried under modern-day Mexico City. The model is housed at the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City and allows students to see how archaeologists and historians have pieced together the story of Tenochtitlán through this modern-day replica. Students who want to know more about the model should be encouraged to read the *National Geographic* articles listed in the Additional Resources section and think about the way historians and archaeologists continue to work together to literally unearth the city and piece together the story of the Aztec people.
Additional Resources

Three additional resources are included within this section as a reference and for additional student exploration. All three articles are from a 1980 special issue of National Geographic that focused on the Aztecs and, more specifically, the excavation of Tenochtitlán. The issue is available from the National Geographic website (http://nationalgeographic.com) or from the Harvard University system (http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1173786.files/Montes.pdf) (subscription needed for both):


For information on more current excavations at Tenochtitlán, see the following:


Additionally, teachers may want to show students the modern-day Mexican flag focusing students on the coat of arms and the symbolism that traces the founding of Tenochtitlán, now modern-day Mexico City. Teachers could pair this with the Mendoza codex, which depicts the founding of Tenochtitlán: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codex_Mendoza#mediaviewer/File:CodexMendoza01.jpg. Students will examine other Aztec codices more closely in Formative Performance Task 3.

Additional images of Tenochtitlán can be found at the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies website in “The Aztecs: Tenochtitlán” found on John Pohl’s Mesoamerica section: http://www.famsi.org/research/pohl/pohl_aztec2.html.
### Mapping Tenochtitlán

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Map</th>
<th>Identify key features of this map that provide information about the location of Tenochtitlán</th>
<th>How does this map uniquely answer the question: Where is Tenochtitlán?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Extent of the Aztec Empire in 1519</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Growth of the Aztec Empire, 1427–1520</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Independent kingdoms, borders, and distinct ethnicities in the Aztec Empire</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Valley of Mexico, including the volcanoes Iztaccihuatl and Popocatepetl</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Tenochtitlán–Tlatelolco and its causeways</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>The Nuremberg Map, 1524</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Model of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlán at the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 1: Extent of the Aztec Empire in 1519.

Map 2: Growth of the Aztec Empire, 1427–1520.

Map 3: Independent kingdoms, borders, and distinct ethnicities in the Aztec Empire
Map 4: Valley of Mexico, including the volcanoes Iztaccihuatl and Popocatépetl.
Map 5: Tenochtitlán-Tlatelolco and its causeways.

Map 6: The Nuremberg Map, 1524 (occasionally attributed to Hernán Cortés).
Reprinted with permission from bpk, Berlin / Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut. / Deitmar Katz/Art Resource, NY.
Map 7: Model of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlán at the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City. Public domain. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:TenochtitlanModel.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:TenochtitlanModel.JPG)
Supporting Question

For the second supporting question, students build on their understanding of Tenochtitlán by analyzing three archaeological objects found during the excavation of the Templo Mayor. The Templo Mayor, or Grand Temple, was the largest and most important of all the temples within the city and is symbolic of the Aztecs’ deeply held spiritual beliefs or cosmology. The temple was built and rebuilt seven times but was ultimately destroyed by Hernán Cortés and then built over by the Spanish (see the image from Staging the Compelling Question). While archaeologists and historians knew of its existence, the temple was discovered by accident in 1978 with the unearthing of the Coyolxauhqui Stone. By examining this object, along with two other excavated objects, students will better understand the central role religion and human sacrifice played in the lives of Aztecs in Tenochtitlán.

Formative Performance Task

The formative performance task for this supporting question requires students to explain the importance of three archaeological artifacts found at the Templo Mayor site. Using the graphic organizer provided in this section (see Digging for Clues: Templo Mayor Artifact Analysis), students engage in a two-part exercise. The first part involves students creating hypotheses, using photographs of three objects found at the Tempo Mayor excavation site: (1) the Coyolxauhqui Stone (temple entry stone), (2) a tzompantli (skull rack), and (3) a tonamati (Aztec calendar stone). During this part of the exercise, students are asked to describe the object: What are your first impressions? What is the object made of? How big does the object appear to be? Is it intact or does it look like parts are missing? Students then make hypotheses about what the purpose of the object might have been or how the Aztecs might have used it. Teachers wanting students to do a closer read of these objects might use the Smithsonian’s guide to reading objects, Engaging Students with Primary Sources (pp. 48–51): http://historyexplorer.si.edu/primarysources.pdf.

Once students have discussed their initial analysis, they should be given the three Exhibition Cards included in this section. The Exhibition Cards are short descriptions of the objects that might be used in a museum exhibit. Students use this additional information about the objects to evaluate their hypothesis and finish their analysis by describing what the object tells us about the Templo Mayor. As students work to decipher the meaning and
purpose of these objects within their historic context, they are using the social studies practices of Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence and Comparison and Contextualization.

**Featured Sources**

To introduce this task, teachers may want to recall two of the sources used earlier in the inquiry. Featured Sources (images) within Staging the Compelling Questions along with Map G in Formative Performance Task 1, remind students that the Templo Mayor was located at the heart of Tenochtitlán, was the largest structure within the city, and is buried under modern-day Mexico City.

**FEATURED SOURCE A** is an image of the Coyolxauhqui Stone, which was accidentally unearthed in 1978 by an electric company digging in central Mexico City. Its discovery paved the way for the excavation of the Templo Mayor.

**FEATURED SOURCE B** shows the remnants of a tzompantli, or skull rack, that was unearthed from excavations of the Templo Mayor over the past 30 years. The skull carvings represent prisoners of war the Aztecs had captured in various battles as well as Aztecs who were sacrificed to appease their many gods.

**FEATURED SOURCE C** is a tonamatl, or Aztec calendar stone, that was unearthed in 1790 during renovations on the Mexico National Cathedral near Templo Mayor. For more information on each of the sources, see the Exhibition Cards.

**Additional Resources**

For students wanting to do additional research on the three artifacts, the following two sources will shed additional light on the Aztec practice of human sacrifice and details on the Aztec calendar.

# Part One—Digging for Clues: Templo Mayor Artifact Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Object</th>
<th>Describe the object.</th>
<th>How do you think the Aztecs used the object?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coyolxauhqui Stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzompantli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonamatl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Part Two—Digging for Clues: Templo Mayor Artifact Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Object</th>
<th>Was your hypothesis correct? How so or not?</th>
<th>What does the object tell us about the Templo Mayor?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coyolxauhqui Stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzompantli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonamatl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Digging for Clues: Exhibition Cards

The Coyolxauhqui Stone (Temple Entry Stone)
The Coyolxauhqui Stone (temple entry stone) was accidentally unearthed in 1978 by an electric company digging in central Mexico City. Its discovery would pave the way for the excavation of the Templo Mayor. The statue is almost 11 feet in diameter, weighs 9.4 tons, and was sculpted in the 15th century. The stone tells of the death of the moon goddess, Coyolxauhqui. The story goes that Coyolxauhqui is jealous that her mother, Coatlicue, has become pregnant and summons her 400 brothers to attack their mother. Coatlicue immediately gives birth to an adult warrior god named Huitzilopochtli who defeats Coyolxauhqui. After the defeat, Coyolxauhqui is dismembered by Huitzilpochtli, a scene that is illustrated in the monolith.

Tzompantli (Skull Rack)
This image shows the remnants of a tzompantli, or skull rack, that was unearthed from the excavations of the Templo Mayor over the past 30 years. The skulls in the photograph are estimated to be around 500 years old. The skulls represent prisoners of war the Aztecs had captured in various battles as well as Aztecs that were sacrificed to appease their many gods. According to Spanish documents from the time of their arrival in Tenochtitlán after 1519, the complete tzompantli comprised 60,000 skulls and the complete structure was 60 meters long and 30 meters wide.

Tonamatl (Aztec Calendar Stone)
This tonamatl, or Aztec calendar stone, is almost 12 feet in diameter, is three and a half feet thick, and weighs 24 tons. The stone was unearthed in 1790 during renovations on the Mexico National Cathedral near Templo Mayor. In the center circle of the sculpture is a depiction of the sun god, Tonatiuh, with an open mouth. The second circle references the different ages that had collapsed. The Aztecs believed the world was destroyed four times before the establishment of their empire. The next two circles in the stone address two time cycles. The 365-day cycle called the xiuhpohualli is believed to chart agricultural cycles because it was based around the sun, while the 260-day cycle called the tonalpohualli is believed to be a sacred calendar because it divided days and rituals among the gods.
Supporting Question 2

**Featured Source**

**Source A:** The Coyolxauhqui Stone (temple entry stone)

© Miguel Alvarez.
## Supporting Question 2

| Featured Source | Source B: Tzompantli (skull rack) |

© Werner Forman/Universal Images Group.
Supporting Question 2

**Featured Source**

**Source C:** Tonamati (Aztec calendar stone)

© Rob Young. Used under the Creative Commons License.
Supporting Question 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supporting Question</th>
<th>How did Tenochtitlán sustain itself?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Formative Performance Task</td>
<td>Develop a chaîne opératoire (operational sequence) for three Aztec economic innovations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Featured Sources | Source A: Excerpt from Hernán Cortés’s second letter to Charles V  
Source B: Codex Mendoza  
Source C: Model of chinampas |
| Conceptual Understanding | (9.8c) Complex societies and civilizations made unique cultural achievements and contributions. |
| Content Specifications | Students will investigate the achievements and contributions of the Aztec, Inca, and Songhai empires. |
| Social Studies Practices | Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence  
Economics and Economic Systems |

Supporting Question

To answer the compelling question—“What do the buried secrets of Tenochtitlán tell us about the Aztecs?”—students will need to establish an understanding of the Aztec civilization. By answering the supporting question “How did Tenochtitlán sustain itself?” students will need to break down the economic and agricultural systems that contributed to Tenochtitlán’s success. In doing so, students will move toward answering the compelling question by forming connections between Tenochtitlán’s economic success and the larger success of the Aztec Empire.

Formative Performance Task

The formative performance task calls on students to create a chaîne opératoire, or operational sequence, for each of the three economic innovations: the market, the tribute system, and the chinampas (see the example later in this section). Chaîne opératoire is a process archaeologists use to reflect the “entanglement of mental operations and social relationships with technical processes” (Linda S. Levstik, A. Gwynn Henderson, and Youngdo Lee, “The Beauty of Other Lives: Material Culture as Evidence of Human Ingenuity and Agency,” The Social Studies 105 [2014]: 184–192). By having students sequence the operations of the economic innovations highlighted in this task, it allows both teachers and students to combat student misconceptions about human intelligence and stereotypes about indigenous peoples. A chaîne opératoire can take numerous forms, but most look like flow charts that highlight each step, material, or invention needed to get to the final product or innovation. For example, using Hernán Cortés’s second letter to Charles V (Featured Source A), students can develop a chaîne opératoire focusing on the aspects of the marketplace in Tenochtitlán. To develop their chaîne opératoire students will need to take the following steps.

First, students will need to use the featured source to list or locate the final innovations or products for each of their chaînes opératoires. For example, when reading Cortés’s letter, students could highlight the following passage:
more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessaries of life, as for instance articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are apothecaries' shops, where prepared medicines, liquids, ointments, and plasters are sold; barbers' shops, where they wash and shave the head; and restaurateurs, that furnish food and drink at a certain price.

. . . . An abundant supply of excellent water, is conveyed by one of these pipes, and distributed about the city, where it is used by the inhabitants for drink and other purposes.

From this passage, students could begin forming lists of final innovations or products, which might include, food, lead, bones, feathers, restaurants, medicines, water, pipes, and so on.

Second, students will use these lists of final innovations or products, to begin forming conjectures about the other steps necessary to create these innovations or products. For example, in order to have restaurants, students might think of the other products or innovations necessary, such as food production and farming, water, and a monetary system. It is important to note that not every student will describe these steps in the same ways and that some students may see more or fewer steps for these innovations. What is important is that students notice the variety of advances needed to get to the final innovation and that they begin to consider the advances made by the Aztecs.

Lastly, students will take their lists of innovations and products and begin to form their chaînes opératoires. Again, these might look different for each student depending on how they structured their innovations while analyzing the sources. An example of a chaîne opératoire focusing on the economics of the market using Featured Source A might look like this:

**Tenochtitlán Market** (final innovation/product using evidence from Cortés's Letter in bold)
Within this task, students are working directly with the social studies practice Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence as they read and analyze each source by highlighting and interpreting evidence in order to create their chaînes opératoires. As students create these operational sequences, teachers should challenge students to consider the evidence available for their conjectures and should have them consider what else might have been necessary (e.g., human intelligence, the need or desire for innovation) to build this elaborate economic system. In doing so, they are using Economics and Economic Systems to deduce the skills, knowledge, and resources required to produce goods and services.

Because forming chaînes opératoires is likely going to be new for most students, teachers might consider modeling this exercise using the market example described earlier. To help students who need more scaffolding, teachers might want to have students work in pairs or small groups to unpack the sources through the use of lists or a graphic organizer before beginning to formulate their chaînes opératoires. Additionally, some students might benefit from comparing their lists with one another before moving to their chaînes opératoires. In pairs or small groups, students could discuss their final innovations or products as well as their conjectures about the steps needed for these innovations, which might be helpful in identifying gaps within their own lists. Students could also continue to work in pairs or small groups as they form their chaînes opératoires.

This formative performance task is an important step in creating a summative argument. Students’ understanding of what made Tenochtitlán sustainable builds upon their previous understandings of its location (Formative Performance Task 1), and cultural characteristics (Formative Performance Task 2), and it adds to the complexity of their understandings of the demise of the city (Formative Performance Task 4).

Featured Sources

**FEATURED SOURCE A** is an excerpt from Cortés’s 1520 letter to Charles V that describes the marketplace in Tenochtitlán. In using this source, teachers should help students understand that this description of Tenochtitlán is through the lens of a Spanish conqueror. Although students will wrestle with the demise of Tenochtitlán in Formative Performance Task 4, it will be important that students understand the perspective of this source in this exercise before moving on to their chaîne opératoire.

**FEATURED SOURCE B** is an annotated codex of the tribute system. Teachers will want to make sure students understand that the Aztecs used the tribute system as a system of taxes to be paid to the Triple Alliance by the other local governments the Aztec Empire controlled. Most of the tribute went to Tenochtitlán. Furthermore, teachers will want to explain the origin of the Codex Mendoza from which this source was taken. Although the images in the codex were created by the Aztecs, they were commissioned to do so by the Spanish about 20 years after their conquest in order to explain the Aztec way of life. Examining the tribute system allows students to broaden their understandings of the economic system the Aztecs used to sustain Tenochtitlán. It might be helpful for some students to work in pairs or in small groups as they examine this featured source and create their lists of the important pieces of the tribute system that could later be used in the formative performance task. When examining this codex, students’ lists of final innovations or products could include mantles, loincloths, other clothing, feathers, shields, grain, gold, honey, wood, and copper; they may also add the names of the towns that were expected to pay tribute. Once students form these lists, they could then form conjectures about what steps were necessary for developing these innovations or products and then move to their chaînes opératoires.

**FEATURED SOURCE C** is a model of chinampas, a method of agriculture that allowed the Aztecs to use small areas of fertile land to grow crops on the shallow lake beds that surrounded Tenochtitlán. This source helps students to break down the agricultural innovations necessary for sustaining Tenochtitlán. When examining this source,
students’ lists of final innovations or products could include the following: posts, woven frameworks, waterways, agricultural tools, crops (seeds), willows, farmers, human labor, and so on. Once students form these lists, they could then form conjectures about what steps were necessary for developing these innovations or products and then move to their chaîne opératoire. Teachers might also have students think about how these agricultural innovations feed into the Aztecs’ larger economic systems, including the tribute system and the marketplace.

**Additional Resources**

In addition, teachers might want to have students consider other portrayals of the economic and agricultural success of Tenochtitlán. For example, Diego Rivera painted murals inside the National Palace of present-day Mexico City in 1933. The mural highlights Tenochtitlán, in particular its marketplace and even gold production. Teachers might use the murals to compare Diego Rivera’s interpretation of life in Tenochtitlán to those that they develop through their inquiries and their chaînes opératoires. Furthermore, teachers could use the murals as additional sources to help students complete their chaînes opératoires or even to add an additional chaîne opératoire to their formative performance task responses.

Images from Diego Rivera’s murals may be found here:

Hernán Cortés, Second Letter to Charles V, 1520

This great city of Temixtitlan [Mexico] is situated in this salt lake . . . The city is as large as Seville or Cordova; its streets, I speak of the principal ones, are very wide and straight; some of these, and all the inferior ones, are half land and half water, and are navigated by canoes. All the streets at intervals have openings, through which the water flows, crossing from one street to another; and at these openings, some of which are very wide, there are also very wide bridges . . .

This city has many public squares, in which are situated the markets and other places for buying and selling . . . where are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessaries of life, as for instance articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are apothecaries' shops, where prepared medicines, liquids, ointments, and plasters are sold; barbers' shops, where they wash and shave the head; and restaurateurs, that furnish food and drink at a certain price.

Every kind of merchandise is sold in a particular street or quarter assigned to it exclusively, and thus the best order is preserved. There is a building in the great square that is used as an audience house, where ten or twelve persons, who are magistrates, sit and decide all controversies that arise in the market, and order delinquents to be punished.

There are fully forty towers, which are lofty and well built, the largest of which has fifty steps leading to its main body, and is higher than the tower of the principal tower of the church at Seville.

This noble city contains many fine and magnificent houses . . . An abundant supply of excellent water, is conveyed by one of these pipes, and distributed about the city, where it is used by the inhabitants for drink and other purposes.

A list of tributes to be paid to Tenochtitlan by its vassals. Short Spanish descriptions attempt to make the list more understandable.

The ten rectangles at the top represent mantles, loincloths, and other items of clothing. Each feather represents 400. On the left margin and at the bottom the names of thirteen tribute-paying towns are noted. Other goods pictured are civilian clothes, warrior dresses, shields, grain, gold, turquoise, honey, planks, wood, copper, and copal (tree resin).

Supporting Question 3

**Featured Source**

**Source C**: Te Papa, Photograph of a model of *Aztec chinampas*

*Aztec chinampas* model by Te Mahi. © Te Papa, photographer.
Supporting Question 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supporting Question</th>
<th>How was Tenochtitlán buried?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formative Performance Task</strong></td>
<td>Develop a claim about the demise of Tenochtitlán.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Featured Sources** | Source A: Excerpt from *Guns, Germs, and Steel* by Jared Diamond  
Source B: Excerpt from *Daily Life of the Aztecs: People of the Sun and Earth* by David Carrasco with Scott Sessions |
| **Conceptual Understandings** | (9.8c) Complex societies and civilizations made unique cultural achievements and contributions. |
| **Content Specifications** | Students will investigate the achievements and contributions of the Aztec, Inca, and Songhai empires. |
| **Social Studies Practices** | √ Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence  
√ Chronological Reasoning and Causation |

**Supporting Question**

To answer the compelling question—“What do the buried secrets of Tenochtitlán tell us about the Aztecs?”—students will need to address the demise and literal burial of Tenochtitlán. Having examined the geographic, cultural, and economic aspects of Aztec life in Tenochtitlán in the previous formative performance tasks, students will be asked to answer the supporting question “How was Tenochtitlán buried?” by analyzing the perspectives of two scholars who discuss the fall of Tenochtitlán and the Aztec Empire. In doing so, students move toward answering the compelling question by forming connections between the sacking of Tenochtitlán and the fall of the Aztec Empire.

**Formative Performance Task**

The formative performance task requires students to address the supporting question by using sources to describe how Tenochtitlán was buried by developing claims supported by evidence. In describing the fall of Tenochtitlán, students should move beyond the interpretation of European superiority and should add to the complexity of their understandings of the demise of Tenochtitlán by noting the way other factors played significant roles in aiding the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire.

Within this task, students are working directly with the social studies practice Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence as they read and analyze each source while making claims supported by evidence. Students are also working with the social studies practice Chronological Reasoning and Causation as they consider the various factors that contributed to Tenochtitlán’s demise and consider how these factors, both inside and outside of Tenochtitlán, developed over time.

Depending on their experience with making claims supported with evidence, students may need examples or guided instruction on how to develop a claim and what constitutes a claim with evidence. The scaffold in this section could help students organize their claim(s) and evidence.
How did Tenochtitlán get buried?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Your emerging claim about how Tenochtitlán was buried</th>
<th>Tenochtitlán and the Aztec Empire were buried by the introduction of Eurasian diseases, such as smallpox, to which they had no immunity.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Evidence from the source that supports your claim    | “What gave the Spaniards a decisive advantage was smallpox, which reached Mexico in 1520 with one infected slave arriving from Spanish Cuba. The resulting epidemic proceeded to kill nearly half of the Aztecs, including Emperor Cuitlahuac.”  
Source A: Excerpt from *Guns, Germs, and Steel* |

**Featured Sources**

Teachers will need to make sure students understand that, beginning in 1519, Tenochtitlán was sacked by the Spanish. To provide some context for these events, teachers might open the lesson with a quote from Bernál Díaz del Castillo taken from the *Florentine Codex*, 1500s, which describes the burial of Tenochtitlán:

> I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered lands such as these, for at the time there was no Peru, or any of it. Of all these wonders that I beheld today all lies overthrown, and lost, nothing left standing.

When examining the quote, teachers can ask students a variety of questions including the following: Who is writing this? What is his observation? What is the significance? What is his perspective?

**FEATURED SOURCE A** is an excerpt from *Guns, Germs, and Steel* by Jared Diamond that addresses the fall of Tenochtitlán. Teachers will want to have students consider the point Diamond is making about the actual role the Spanish military had in burying Tenochtitlán versus the epidemiological cause of smallpox.

**FEATURED SOURCE B** is an excerpt from *Daily Life of the Aztecs: People of the Sun and Earth* by David Carrasco with Scott Sessions. Teachers will want to have students consider the role that different forces such as religion, military, politics, and biology played in the burial of Tenochtitlán. Drawing on their responses to Formative Performance Tasks 2 and 3, students should consider how those forces that helped to sustain Tenochtitlán could also be described by Carrasco and Sessions as part of its demise. For example, Carrasco and Sessions argue that the uprising of locals within the Aztec Empire helped contribute to Spanish success:

> The conquest was more of a massive rebellion of other Indian communities than a conquest by Spanish soldiers acting shrewdly and heroically . . . After more than one hundred years of Mexican domination, these allies and enemy states were looking for opportunities to break the control the might Aztecs had over them.

Students should consider the extent to which various factors caused the burial of the Tenochtitlán and how these factors could have arisen by the larger geographic, cultural, or economic aspects of the Aztec Empire (e.g., lack of previous exposure to European diseases, capturing enemies for sacrifice, tribute system).
Additional Resources

Teachers may choose to expand their investigation of the burial of Tenochtitlán by asking students to examine archaeological journals and archives from the Archaeological Institute of America. These journals discuss the literal burial of Tenochtitlán by the Spanish as well as problems faced by archaeologists as they attempt to unearth the Aztec culture:


Teachers may also choose to expand their investigation by further examining the perspective of Bernál Díaz del Castillo:

- *The Memoirs of the Conquistador Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, vol. 1, Project Gutenberg. [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/32474/32474-h/32474-h.htm](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/32474/32474-h/32474-h.htm). (Note: Readers may also link to vol. 2 from this page).
The importance of lethal microbes in human history is well illustrated by Europeans’ conquest and depopulation of the New World. Far more Native Americans died in bed from Eurasian germs than on the battlefield from European guns and swords. Those germs undermined Indian resistance by killing most Indians and their leaders and by sapping the survivors’ morale. For instance, in 1519 Cortés landed on the coast of Mexico with 600 Spaniards, to conquer the fiercely militaristic Aztec Empire with a population of many millions. That Cortés reached the capital of Tenochtitlán, escaped with the loss of only two-thirds of his force, and managed to fight his way back to the coast demonstrates both Spanish military advantages and the initial naiveté of the Aztecs. But when Cortés’s next onslaught came, the Aztecs were no longer naive and fought street by street with the utmost tenacity. What gave the Spaniards a decisive advantage was smallpox, which reached Mexico in 1520 with one infected slave arriving from Spanish Cuba. The resulting epidemic proceeded to kill nearly half of the Aztecs, including Emperor Cuitlahuac. Aztec survivors were demoralized by the mysterious illness that killed Indians and spared Spaniards, as if advertising the Spaniards’ invincibility. By 1618, Mexico’s initial population of about 20 million had plummeted to about 1.6 million.

The Aztec Empire fell because of a combination of forces that worked against them. First, the Spaniards arrive at a fateful time in the Aztec calendar. The year I Reed (ce acatl) of 1519, was associated with the story of the collapse of the Toltec kingdom of Tollitzin Quetzalcoatl, and it is likely that this tradition was in the head of the Aztec nobles who had been educated so thoroughly in their calmecac ….

Second, the conquest was more of a massive rebellion of other Indian communities than a conquest by Spanish soldiers acting shrewdly and heroically. The extravagant Aztec Empire had been held together by a series of alliances, conquests, intimidations, Flowery Wars, and forced payment of sacrificial captives and wealth. Many rebellions and resistance movements had occurred, both near the capital and in distant regions, especially during the twenty years before the Spanish arrived. After more than one hundred years of Mexica domination, these allies and enemy states were looking for opportunities to break the control the mighty Aztecs had over them. As one writer notes, “The loose structure of the empire was the weapon of its own destruction.”

Third, the Aztecs and the Spaniards fought wars on completely different terms, which favored European invaders. The Aztecs conducted campaigns to capture enemy warriors for humiliation and sacrifice as much as for killing on the battlefield. They entered into conflicts with the Spaniards with those goals in mind. The Spaniards fought to kill on the battlefield with little concern for captives except to drag basic information from them through intimidation and torture. The Spanish also had formidable weapons, including horses, attack dogs, crossbows, cannons, harquebuses, and steel-bladed swords.

Fourth, the impact of European diseases cannot be overestimated in understanding the process of conquest. There was an immediate and profound impact on the health and stability of the population at large and the military units in particular within and beyond the Aztec capital. And throughout the next century there was enormous material destruction in terms of fields, towns, cities, and human beings. When we turn to the statistics of conquest, we learn that the human population in America went from 80 million in 1492 to less than 10 million in 1600. In Mesoamerica there were 25 million people in 1519, but only 1 million native Americans living in the same territory in 1592.

In this task, students construct an evidence-based argument responding to this prompt: “What do the buried secrets of Tenochtitlán tell us about the Aztecs?” It is important to note that students’ arguments could take a variety of forms. In some cases, teachers may have students complete a detailed outline that includes claims with evidentiary support. In other cases, teachers may want students to write a paper that formalizes their arguments. Teachers’ decisions to do either may be predicated on whether they plan to do the summative extension described in this section.

At this point in their inquiry, students have examined the geographic, cultural, and economic attributes of Tenochtitlán that reveal unique characteristics of the Aztecs. Students should be expected to demonstrate the breadth of their understandings and their abilities to use evidence from multiple sources to support their distinct claims.

Before the Summative Performance Task, it may be helpful for students to review the sources provided and the graphic organizers created during the formative performance tasks. Doing so should help them develop their claims and highlight the appropriate evidence to support their arguments. The Evidence Chart in this section can be used to provide students with support as they build their arguments with claims and evidence.

Students’ arguments likely will vary, but could include any of the following:

- The practice of human sacrifice at the Templo Mayor and the forced tribute to Tenochtitlán tells us the Aztecs were a brutal, militaristic, and conquering people.
- The empire’s elaborate tribute system, along with the use of chinampas and markets within Tenochtitlán, tells us the Aztecs were economically innovative and highly adaptive to their environment.
- The development and endurance of Tenochtitlán as both an architectural and imperial wonder tells us the Aztecs were one of the great civilizations in the history of the Americas.

Additionally, teachers might want students to focus on evaluating the use of archaeology to synthesize the events and people of the past. Students’ arguments will vary, but could include any of the following:

- Artifacts unearthed at Tenochtitlán provide a more authentic perspective on the history of the Aztecs because they represent the life of the indigenous people in Mexico.
- There are limitations to using archaeological evidence to better understand the Aztecs because many artifacts have yet to be unearthed and are difficult to interpret in modern context.
- The archaeological evidence unearthed at Tenochtitlán illuminates some of the religious, social, and economic practices of the Aztecs, but there are difficulties in using artifacts to interpret the daily life of the indigenous people in Mexico.

It is possible for students to find support for any of these arguments in the sources provided and through their analysis of the sources. Furthermore, teachers might have students write arguments that reference both the characteristics of Aztec life and the limitations of using archaeological evidence.
Extension

Museum curators study artifacts to understand history and to tell a story about the past. Objects tell something about the people who designed, made, and used them. Lubar and Kendrick (“Looking at Artifacts, Thinking About History,” the Object of History website, http://objectofhistory.org/guide/) suggest five ways of thinking about artifacts:

- Artifacts tell their own stories.
- Artifacts connect people.
- Artifacts mean many things.
- Artifacts capture moments.
- Artifacts reflect changes.

Students could begin this extension by using these five ways of thinking to examine an artifact from Tenochtitlán that was used within this inquiry or one they have found on their own. See the Object of History website for a guide to doing this type of exercise: http://objectofhistory.org/guide/.

Students can work together to imagine themselves as curators who are drafting exhibit cards for an artifact. Students should select two artifacts and discuss why these artifacts should be included within the exhibit. Working as a class, students should decide which artifacts tell the most compelling and accurate stories of the Aztecs. After all, museum curators also have to make decisions about which artifacts make it to the museum floor. Students will want to consider the objects' historical significance and the way in which they might engage the public.

Once selected, students could create an exhibit card like the ones in Formative Performance Task 2 or like those from a museum. For example, the National Museum of American History annotates its objects online using an object description. Following is a sample description of George Washington's camp chest (the full description is found at http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_434899):

Armies on campaign must carry with them much besides their weapons. At the time of the American Revolutionary War (1776-1781), various boxes and chests transported soldier's individual effects, wardrobes, official military payrolls, and other necessities. Camp chests or canteens as they were called in the 18th century, carried utensils and cooking apparatus to be used by officers and their staff when in the field during campaigns.

George Washington’s well-appointed personal camp chest, or “mess kit,” enabled him to dine in a manner reflecting his position as commander of the Continental Army. Two sets of leather covered canteens, or camp chests, were bought by General Washington, on May 3, 1776. Another set of “canteens” captured on a British prize ship were sent for Washington’s use in October 1778. By 1782, General Washington's camp equipage which included canteens, tents, tables, traveling beds, and various other field equipment, was so extensive that he had to request that two horses, “natural pacers,” be selected by the Quartermaster General, Timothy Pickering, just to carry the General’s camp chests.

We do not know which of the several camp chests belonging to Washington is in our collections; however, this example is complete with all original utensils. It contains tin plates and platters, tin pots with detachable wooden handles, glass containers for condiments such as salt, pepper, and sugar, as well as knives and forks with dyed black ivory handles. The chest also contains a tinder box, candle stand, and folding gridiron.
This exhibit card should include background information about the object so that future researchers know what historians previously discovered about the object and its context. Students could print out images of their artifacts and include their exhibit cards. A class of students could invite another class, a group of adults in the school, or parents to view their exhibit, or they could create a self-guided exhibit in the school’s hallway. Students could act as docents as the participants move through their exhibit.
## Evidence Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Claim</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is your opening claim about the Aztecs? This claim should appear in the opening section of your argument. Make sure to cite your sources.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evidence</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What evidence do you have from the sources you investigated to support your initial claim? Make sure to cite your sources.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Additional Claims</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What are some additional claims you can make that extend your initial claim? Make sure to cite your sources.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Additional Evidence</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What additional evidence do you have from the sources you investigated that support your additional claims? Make sure to cite your sources.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Double Check</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What ideas from the sources contradict your claims? Have you forgotten anything? Make sure to cite your sources.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pulling It Together</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is your overall understanding of the compelling question? This should be included in your conclusion. Make sure to cite your sources.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lastly, drawing upon their inquiry of the unearthing of Tenochtitlán students should take action by writing an editorial for submission to Dig Into History magazine (http://www.digonsite.com/index.html) in which they make young readers aware of a problem or problems archaeologists face in digging up the past. Alternatively, students could write a letter to Dr. Dig (http://www.digonsite.com/drdig/index.html) that asks questions about the unearthing of Tenochtitlán or the ability to uncover history using archaeology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taking Informed Action</th>
<th>UNDERSTAND Further investigate the ethical, environmental, and/or historical challenges that modern-day archaeologists face as they unearth Tenochtitlán.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ASSESS List the opportunities and challenges of uncovering the remains of lost societies such as Tenochtitlán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ACT Write an editorial for Dig Into History magazine that makes young readers aware of a problem(s) archaeologists face in digging up the past.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taking informed action can manifest in a variety of forms and in a range of venues. Students may express action through discussions, debates, surveys, video productions, and the like; these actions may take place in the classroom, in the school, in the local community, across the state, and around the world. The three activities described in this inquiry represent a logic that asks students to (1) understand the issues evident from the inquiry in a larger and/or current context, (2) assess the relevance and impact of the issues, and (3) act in ways that allow students to demonstrate agency in a real-world context.

For this inquiry, students draw on their understandings of how history is unearthed and how it is shaped by archaeological discoveries. Clearly, there are numerous examples of archaeological discoveries that have changed the historical record, but this inquiry focuses on the literal burial of the ancient Aztec city of Tenochtitlán. Because much of Tenochtitlán’s culture is still unknown, having students continue their inquiries allows them to continue to evaluate the ways in which history is constructed and the barriers that exist to archaeologists.

To understand the situation, students should return to the New York Times article, which began the inquiry, this time focusing on the ethical, environmental, and/or historical problems facing archaeologists trying to unearth Tenochtitlán. They might start by investigating the following quote from the article:

But despite the guidance from historical records, Mexico City’s archaeologists cannot dig anywhere they please. Part of the sacred precinct is now a raucous medley of the mundane. The street vendors hawking pirated Chinese-made toys and English-language lesson CDs from crumbling facades are merely the loudest. To excavate under the area’s hotels, diners, cheap clothing stands and used bookstores would entail fraught negotiation. Along the quieter blocks of the precinct, handsome colonial structures are now museums and government buildings, themselves historical landmarks. Archaeologists believe that the Cálzec, a school for Aztec nobles, extends under the courtyards of Mexico’s Education Ministry building. For now, the only part of the Cálzec that has been excavated are several walls and sculptures on display under a building housing the Spanish cultural center, discovered when it was remodeled.

Students should then assess the opportunities and challenges of uncovering the remains of lost societies such as Tenochtitlán. Students could consider who is buried and why and how they should be unearthed. Students should additionally begin to assess the extent to which history can be uncovered through archaeological discoveries. Lastly, drawing upon their inquiry of the unearthing of Tenochtitlán students should take action by writing an editorial for submission to Dig Into History magazine (http://www.digonsite.com/index.html) in which they make young readers aware of a problem or problems archaeologists face in digging up the past and your position on the problem. Alternatively, students could write a letter to Dr. Dig (http://www.digonsite.com/drdig/index.html) that asks questions about the unearthing of Tenochtitlán or the ability to uncover history using archaeology.
Common Core Connections Across the Grade 9 Inquiry

Social studies teachers play a key role in enabling students to develop the relevant literacy skills found in the New York State P–12 Common Core Learning Standards for English Language Arts and Literacy. The Common Core emphasis on more robust reading, writing, speaking and listening, and language skills in general and the attention to more sophisticated source analysis, argumentation, and the use of evidence in particular are evident across the Toolkit inquiries.

Identifying the connections with the Common Core Anchor Standards will help teachers consciously build opportunities to advance their students’ literacy knowledge and expertise through the specific social studies content and practices described in the annotation. The following table outlines the opportunities represented in the Grade 9 Inquiry through illustrative examples of each of the standards represented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compelling Question</th>
<th>What do the buried secrets of Tenochtitlán tell us about the Aztecs?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Core Anchor Standard Connections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reading</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1</strong> Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text. See Formative Performance Tasks 1 and 2: The formative performance tasks call on students to identify specific information from the sources that help answer the supporting question. <strong>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9</strong> Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take. See Formative Performance Task 4: Students examine sources from two different perspectives in order to make a claim with evidence about the demise of Tenochtitlán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Writing</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.1</strong> Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence. See the Summative Performance Task: Construct an argument using specific claims and relevant evidence from historical sources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Speaking and Listening</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.2</strong> Integrate and evaluate information presented in diverse media and formats, including visually, quantitatively, and orally. See Formative Performance Tasks 1, 2, 3, and 4: Students will evaluate featured sources that are presented through a range of media, including maps, images, and text, and will use these sources to answer the supporting questions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Language</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.L.3</strong> Apply knowledge of language to understand how language functions in different contexts, to make effective choices for meaning or style, and to comprehend more fully when reading or listening. See Appendix A: Vocabulary Guide for Aztec Inquiry: Students use vocabulary guide to understand words and phrases unique to archaeology and the Aztecs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix A: Aztec Inquiry Vocabulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>calmecac</td>
<td>kal’mekak</td>
<td>School for the sons of Aztec nobility where they would receive religious and military training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaîne opératoire</td>
<td>shen-opra-toire</td>
<td>French for “operational sequence” anthropologists and archaeologists use this process to analyze steps in production.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coatlicue</td>
<td>co-at-LI-cue</td>
<td>Earth goddess and mother of Huitzilopochtli in the myth of Coatepec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyolxauhqui</td>
<td>co-yol-SHAU-qui</td>
<td>Moon goddess and warrior daughter of Coatlicue and sister of Huitzilopochtli, who killed and dismembered her in the myth of Coatepec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuitláhuac</td>
<td>kwit’lawak</td>
<td>Emperor and 10th ruler of Tenochtitlán; he died of smallpox.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harquebus</td>
<td>har-que-bus</td>
<td>A matchlock gun invented in the 15th century which was portable but heavy and was usually fired from a support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huitzilopochtli</td>
<td>huit-zi-lo-POCHT-li</td>
<td>God of sun and of war and patron deity of the Mexica (Aztecs).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Templo Mayor</td>
<td>TEM-plo may-OR</td>
<td>The Great Temple of Tenochtitlán, the symbolic center of the city and a physical replica of the Aztec cosmos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenochtitlán</td>
<td>te-noch-tit-LAN</td>
<td>The capital city of the Triple Alliance, founded by the Mexica (Aztecs) around 1325, located on an island in the lake system of the Basin of Mexico.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonalpohualli</td>
<td>to-nal-po-HUAL-li</td>
<td>The 260-day ritual cycle in the Aztec calendar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonamatl</td>
<td>to-na-ma-tl</td>
<td>“Book of Days” depicting the ritual calendar Aztecs used for divination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonatiuh</td>
<td>to-NA-ti-uh</td>
<td>A solar deity who presided over the age known as the “fifth sun,” in which the Aztecs lived.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzompantli</td>
<td>tzom-PANT-li</td>
<td>“Skull rack,” where the severed heads of sacrificial victims were hung on poles at Templo Mayor in Tenochtitlán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiuhpohualli</td>
<td>sh-uh-po-HUAL-li</td>
<td>The 365-day Aztec calendar cycle corresponding to the solar year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Additional Sources for Teaching this Inquiry

Books


• James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz. *Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983: Provides a general history of Latin America in the period between the European conquest and the gaining of independence by the Spanish American countries and Brazil (approximately 1492–1825)

Article


Websites


• National Museum of the American Indian website. [http://www.nmai.si.edu](http://www.nmai.si.edu): Access to artifacts that were found at Templo Mayor in Tenochtitlán.

Archaeological Websites

• *Dig Into History* magazine, [http://www.digonsite.com](http://www.digonsite.com): Archaeological magazine geared to children 9 to 14 years old.

• Past Horizons, [http://www.pasthorizonspr.com](http://www.pasthorizonspr.com): News archive and article source that examines issues and adventures in the field of archaeology.